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No. 2

Hans Hess (?-1733)

IRA D. LANDIS

Among the Swiss martyrs of the seventeenth century in the cradle of the Swiss Reformation, Zurich, were Hans Jacob Hess and wife. He was an Anabaptist preacher, who in the years 1637-39 was arrested three times for his faith and spent ninety-four weeks in prison, sixteen of them in chains. All his earthly possessions were confiscated by the state and sold for 4,000 florins (about \$1600). His wife was also confined in Othenbach for sixty-three weeks, where she contracted consumption and died.

Of such Christian stock was Hans Hess and his wife Magdalena, who crossed the

Atlantic Ocean in 1717. Tradition says that a child died at sea. He first settled just west of his fellow countryman, John Krevter, between Mill Creek and the Conestoga in Lampeter, where 100 acres were surveyed to him, May 27, 1718. Here he built his humble dwelling, first of tow-cloth, brought from Switzerland, then of hickory and bark, which were so abundant in this wilderness. Here he built his altar of thanksgiving, and as his family increased, as amicable relations with the Indians were established and the woods reduced for timber and tillage, he worshiped God. After a

few years he moved into Conestoga Township (now Pequea), near the present town of Baumgardner. Here he had 195 acres "in right patented" to his son Samuel, Nov. 26, 1739. He built a home northwest of the present town. In the quietness of this wilderness he started to rear a noble family of eleven children for God. When he had established his family in this retreat, 4600 miles from his own birthplace in Switzerland, in 1733 at the age of about forty-six, after a lingering illness, he laid his armor by and is buried on his farm on an elevation overlooking the beautiful valley to which God guided him and his descendants.*

The Family

JACOB of Warwick township by September 24, 1735, got a patent for 200 acres from Martin Kendig and John Herr on grounds surrounding the present Hess Church. Here he built a home and a flaxhemp mill. His family of five included John of the home place, Christian of Augusta county, Virginia, Elizabeth, wife of Martin Hauser, and Ann, wife of Jacob Shup, (both) of Paxton township, Lebanon county, and Jacob of Washington county, Maryland. In 1784, after John's death, Christian, the eldest, received the home place, but in 1792 he with his wife Anna, daughter of Bishop Valentine Metzler, purchased the Huston mill property in Salisbury township, to which place he



Gravestone of HANS HES, died 1733, in Lancaster County, Pa.

Here both were ordained to the ministry and established the Mennonite Church in the Hershey District. Then John (II) purchased the home place and in 1800 he was ordained to the ministry for the Hammer Creek District. John (1) also had the following daughters: Veronica, wife of John Brubaker of Juniata county; Mary, wife of Jacob Metzler of Metzler's Church, West Earl township; Susanna, wife of Abraham (?) Huber of Warwick; Margaret, wife of Bishop Peter Eby of Pequea; Judith, wife of Daniel Brubaker of Schoeneck, (whose home was one of the first places of worship in Indiantown); Barbara, wife of David Martin, who in 1810 gave the land for the Slate Hill meetinghouse in Cumberland county; and Ann, wife of Henry Hess.

Preacher John was the ancestor, through his son Henry, of Preacher Jacob H. Her-(Continued on page 2)

The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society

JAMES R. CLEMENS

The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society was organized in October, 1930, at the Plain Mennonite Church, Lansdale, Pa., by a number of interested brethren of the Franconia Mennonite Conference. A short time previous to this organization the Mennonite General Conference had proposed a general Mennonite history for which each conference should supply its own data, and no doubt this action stimulated the founding of the society. The first officers of the organization were moved with his brother-in-law Peter Eby. John D. Souder, president, and Samuel

R. Swartley, secretary. Later on, David K. Allebach was chosen vice president, and Ernest R. Clemens, treasurer. These officers have been kept up to the present writing.

One of the first activities of the society was to have members from the several congregations volunteer to search for data pertaining to their own local church history. From time to time addresses prepared from this accumulated material were presented at the society's annual meeting. Gradually, however, addresses of a more general historical nature such as, "Mennonite Gravevards and their Historical Background in

the Old Country" and "Mennonites in the Different Wars" were given by such authorities as Harold S. Bender of Goshen. Ind., and Elmer Johnson of Hereford, Pa.

One of the outstanding meetings of the society was that held on October 7, 1933, a date of great importance since it was 250 years, almost to the day, from the time that the first Mennonite immigrants came to Germantown, some 20 miles distant from the Franconia district. At this meeting the leading speakers were again Harold Bender and Elmer Johnson.

In 1935 the society felt a definite need for the publication of a history of the Franconia Conference District, and forthwith it requested John C. Wenger of Telford, Pa., to undertake the compilation of such a history. Having obtained a year's leave from his seminary studies in Philadelphia, Bro. Wenger set to work diligently and in May, 1937, the long an-

^{*} His will, probated August 8, 1733, begins: "Anno 1733 the 10th day of April in my sickness, I John Hess have writ how my wife has to behave herself in case I should die." It is signed by Hans Kage, Martin Meilin, Nicholas Bucher, and Christian Meyer, pioneer Conestoga Menists.

ticipated history appeared. The volume met with genuine approval and the society had the satisfaction of knowing that a good piece of work had been done.

It was not until the fall of 1936 that the present name of the society was adopted. Up to that time it was known as the Historical Society of the Franconia Conference District.

It has been the practice of the society to hold its annual public meetings in a different congregation of the conference each year. The local historian at the time usually gives an historical sketch of his own congregation.

The aim of the society is always to maintain an interest in the historical background of the Franconia Mennonite Conference and in these trying times feels it can do much to acquaint the younger generation with problems of their forbears and what they did to overcome them.

The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society has been well pleased with the attendance and interest shown at its annual meetings and believes that the interest will increase as the years go on.

The eleventh annual meeting of the society was held at the Plain Mennonite Meetinghouse, near Lansdale, on November 22, 1941. The program for this meeting included an afternoon and an evening session. The following topics were discussed: "History of the Plain Congregation," by D. K. Allebach; "History of Relief Activities of the Mennon-ite Church," by Ernest Bennett; "William Rittenhouse, First Mennonite Minister in America," by Ernest Clemens; "Mennonite Migrations," by Grant Stoltzfus.

HANS HESS

(Continued from page 1)

shey, Preachers Jonas and John S. of Hess's, Amos of Kraybill's, and Deacons Benj. H. and Norman L. of Landis Valley; through his son Christian, of Jacob G. of Millersville; through his son John, of Preachers John R. of Hammer Creek, John W. of Akron, also of Allen Erb of La Junta, Colorado, and Paul Erb of Goshen, Indiana, also of Abram L. Hess, who helped to make Hesston College and Bible School possible; through Elizabeth, of Preacher John Risser of Hammer Creek, the great-grandfather of John D. Risser of Paramount, Md.

JOHN of Warwick had only one child, Elizabeth, who married Preacher Christian Bomberger of Hammer Creek (son of the pioneer Christian). She died young, but was the mother of four of his twelve children: Eve, wife of Nicholas Boyer; Elizabeth, wife of John Erb; Catharine, wife of Peter Snyder; Mary, wife of John Trump.

MICHAEL (-1792), and wife Barbara, of Conestoga, settled south of New Danville, on land now owned by Henry H. Hess, where they reared Abraham of Little Britain, John and David (ancestor of grandson of pioneer John Kreyter, and Menno Simons.

Preachers Maris and James Hess) of Conestoga, Jacob (wife Catharine) of Westmoreland county, Christian of Colerain, Preacher Samuel of Donegal (the ancestor of Samuel and Christian of Cumberland county), Preacher Michael of the home place (ancestor of Mahlon M., Mennonite minister of Masonville, Pa.) who was a River Brethren minister (as were his son Abram and great-grandson Noah Z.), and Barbara, wife of Daniel Keeports. In his will, probated November 28, 1792, he mentions that his brother Samuel and brother-in-law Michael Kryder were to execute it "with the approbation of the majority of the elders of the Menest Congregation in the Township of Conestoga aforesaid for the time being shall think proper . . . with the approbation aforesaid" (twice repeated again). . . . If the executors die, "I do authorize and empower the majority of the members of said meeting for the time being to act and make such division and to execute such deeds for confirmation as to them shall seem meet.'

ABRAHAM, (d. 1792) and wife Catharine, of Lampeter purchased a large tract from James Logan in West Donegal and operated the ferry at Vinegar's Ferry (Marietta) from 1730-1760. He also had land in Martic township and in Lebanon county. He had sons Christian of Conestoga, Abraham, and Martin.

CHRISTIAN, (d. 1794) a bachelor, and VERONICA (1729-1814), a spinster, lived together in Conestoga, altho the former had purchased in 1755 and 1762, two hundred acres in Donegal from his brother Abraham. It was after his death in 1794 that the heirs sign a release and therefrom part of this unpublished family record has its source.

SAMUEL (1731-1788) and wife Esther lived and died on the old Hans Hess farm in Conestoga, adding thereto until the farm contained 344 acres. This was divided at his death between his two sons Henry and Christian. Henry placed buildings directly south of Boehm's and later retired in the first house in Baumgardner. His oldest son John located nearer Conestoga Center.

MAGDALENA, wife of Jacob Stouffer, had the following children: Henry of Londonderry, Dauphin county; Abraham of Guilford township, Franklin county; Feronica, wife of John Leib, of Warwick; Magdalena, wife of John Eby, Mt. Joy; Elizabeth, wife James Clingen, Donegal; Daniel, Hellam township, York county; Christian of Warwick; Samuel (lunatic); John, Paradise township, York county: Jacob and Barbara of Mt. Joy.

ANNA, wife of Christian Meily, lived in Shenandoah County, Virginia. Here is where the three sons, Tobias (who died young), Daniel (who was insane), and Martin lived. Christina, married to David Bechtel, moved to Bedford county, Pennsvlvania.

ELIZABETH married Michael Kryter,

had three sons. Christian's family was immediately scattered over Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Michael and John died here without issue.

BARBARA was the second wife of Samuel Boyer. He lived at one time where Preacher James Hess now farms and gave land on the farm for the first Boyerland (new Byerland) meetinghouse in

The Cemetery

Until the recent finding of John Landis's grave (dated 1727) in the Grebil Cemetery, West Earl township, it was thought that the Hans Hes grave of 1733 was the oldest originally marked grave in Lancaster county. In the same cemetery are buried his widow, Malena Hesin, died 1767 at age of 79; his son Samuel, born Apr. 9, 1731, died Aug. 25, 1788, and wife Esther, who died in 1802 at 68; his daughter, Veronica, b. Aug. 22, 1729, d. Oct. 17. 1814. Samuel's two sons: Heinrich, b. Oct. 25, 1768, d. Feb. 21, 1827, and wife Margaret, by July 5, 1770, d. Sept. 29, 1821; and Christian, b. Jan. 26, 1756, d. July 5, 1818; also H. Hes 1739-1779; M. Hes d. 1760, age 25; M. Hessen d. 1771 at 4; Elizabeth Hezin, 1796-1801; Benjamin Hess, 1794-1796; H. H. d. 1744 at 17; M. M. 1744; Elizabeth Hesin, d. 1802 at 4 months; a 1744-broken stone; Martin Behm 1771-1778; Tobias Behm, 1734. Other and later graves have names Borneman, Charles, Marks, and Fegan.

Hans Hess has left a noble progeny who early were a real asset to their community and especially to the church of their faith. It is remarkable to note what an impression one family could make upon the church and community in the pioneer days. Then too it is astounding how through one false step in choices in marriage or location whole families with all their descendants were lost to the church never to return. Hans Hess had the Christian stamp and even though called to an early reward, he has left his impress on many in these 225 years by his short, simple life of sobriety, industry, and economy and is leading through his heritage a host to his eternal home in glory.

Chief sources of information: Harrisburg (Pa.) Patent Records and Lancaster County (Pa.) Court House Records; John H. Hess' Genealogy (1896); Church and County Histories and Historians; the Cemetery itself.

Besides we teach the true love and fear of God, the true love of our neighbor, to serve and aid all mankind and to injure none, to crucify the flesh and its desires and lusts, to prune the heart, mouth and the whole body with the knife of the divine word, of all unclean thoughts, unbecoming words and actions. Consider now whether this is not the will of God, the true doctrine of Jesus Christ, the rightful use of the ordinances, and the true life, which is of God, although all the gates of hell may willfully oppose it .-

Pioneer Mennonite Students at Ada, Ohio

SILVANUS YODER

(Continued from March, 1942, issue)

What kind of school was Ada? It was financed by stockholders. It was classed as a Christian interdenominational institution. However, the prevailing element was of the Christian (Campbellite) Church to which the administration of the school adhered. The daily chapel service was not conducted by any one sect or denomination but was open to any one who at that time was considered orthodox. I well remember a Quaker who was invited to address the student body and afterward imposed quite seriously on the time that was not allotted to him. But was the school conducted on Mennonite principles? No. Its various departments consisted of a normal teachers' course, a pharmacy department, a law department, a military department. The president of the school (Lehr) prided himself with the successful civil engineers who had gone out from the institution. I also remember quite distinctly the big smile he had on his face one morning when he announced the names of a large body of law students from the institution that had been admitted to the bar. I am glad to say that as far as I know, no Mennonite young man ever entered either the law or military department.

It was a school that was widely advertised and known, and some noted characters have been connected with the institution. I sat under the instruction of Simon D. Fess, afterward a noted United States Senator from Ohio, and also studied under F. B. Willis who at one time was a candidate for nomination for presidency of the United States but died in a hotel while on a campaign tour. I have both their autographs in my autograph album, President H. S. Lehr was of a fatherly disposition and exhibited a warm concern for his students, especially in case of sickness. He was of an active and wide-awake disposition and soon detected immoral and disorderly conduct among the students, and he was not slow in administering discipline. On various occasions he was known to have disguised himself and made a sudden and unexpected appearance. Professor Darst was more composed and exhibited a character of calm deliberation. Professor Park, a very pleasant appearing character when not insulted, was often known to give vent to outbursts of rage against disorderly conduct. Professor Maglot was passive, who seemingly evaded all responsibility. Does a teacher learn to know the minds of his pupils or students? Perhaps he does, but mind reading is not entirely confined to the professor of psychology!

Who attended school at Ada? There were students there from practically all parts of the country and also from foreign countries but the object of this paper is as Macaulay.

to tell of the Mennonite students who ? prior to the launching of a Mennonite College attended this institution. It was on New Year's evening, 1894, on the train en route to Ada that I met two Mennonite students from Ada. E. S. Hostetler from my immediate community and I. B. Smith of St. Jacobs, Ontario, had entered school at Ada in the fall of 1893. They had formed each other's acquaintance and had become roommates. They had spent their holiday vacation in the vicinity of West Liberty and were returning to school at Ada when we met on the train. It was but a short time until we were intimately acquainted. For the remainder of that school year we were the only Mennonites in school at Ada. Our lack of Mennonite associates was offset by our frequent visits to New Stark where a small community of Mennonites lived under the pastorate of John Blosser, and the pleasant memories of this devoted preacher of righteousness are not forgotten. The Mennonite community at Bluffton, Ohio, also afforded us an excellent opportunity for associations. It was here that we met such characters as M. S. Steiner and his brothers, Albert J., of North Lima being one of them. Among the Mennonites who early attended school at Ada were the Steiner brothers: Menno S., Joseph, A. J., and Reuben; A. I. Yoder, the late well-known bishop of West Liberty, Ohio; C. K. Hostetler, previously referred to as Editor of the Young People's Paper published by the Mennonite Publishing Company, of Elkhart, at one time business manager of Goshen College, and later a city missionarv at Youngstown, Ohio; I. W. Royer of Orrville, Ohio; John Hilty, for a number of years superintendent of the Orphanage at West Liberty, Ohio; J. M. Kurtz of Chicago; and S. A. Kurtz, whose widow still lives in Goshen, Indiana. The school is now known as Ohio Northern University.

The statement has often been made in public addresses at Mennonite conferences that the Mennonites who early attended institutions of higher learning have nearly all left their Church. While it is true that many have deserted the Mennonite body, the statement is erroneously made and savors of gross exaggeration.

The above is but an introduction to the real importance of this message. This importance is summed up in a few words, viz., an earnest appeal for a hearty support of our church schools. Our young men and women today have the same burning ambition within their hearts to accomplish a noble purpose. Human ambitions have not changed. Will we stand by and ignore this God-given instinct of a young man or woman and allow this hallowed talent to bring him to ruin? God forbid.

Those who compare the age in which their lot has fallen with a golden age which exists only in imagination, may talk of degeneracy and decay; but no man who is correctly informed as to the past, will be disposed to take a morose or desponding view of the present.—Thomas Macaulay.

NEWS & NOTES

On April 5, 1942, a special program of historical nature was given at the Clinton Frame Mennonite Church near Goshen, Indiana. The occasion was the one-hundredth anniversary of the first Amish Mennonite Meeting held in the state of Indiana. The speakers and their subjects on the program were as follows: Ira S. Johns, "A Brief History of the Early Amish Mennonite Settlers and of the Clinton Frame Congregation"; J. S. Hartzler, "Pioneer Church Work"; D. D. Troyer, "My Fifty Years in the Mennonite Church." We hope there may be a fuller report of this anniversary observance in a future issue of the Bulletin.

More Mennonite congregations and districts should consider the possibility of studying their local history and collecting historical information and data for preservation. Every congregation would do well to appoint some historically minded person, or a standing committee to work systematically on its own history. Every conference might well have a standing historical committee of its own appointed for collecting and preserving the historical records of the Mennonite settlements, living and extinct, of its district. In large Mennonite settlements there ought to be organized and carried on historical societies for fostering the interest of the membership in the past history of the Mennonite Church. As an example, read what is being done along this line in one conference district, in the article by James R. Clemens in this issue, "The Franconia Mennonite Historical Society. For numerous practical suggestions and helps in knowing how to go about to collect and preserve valuable historical information, we refer the reader to the article by Melvin Gingerich on "Helps in History Research," which appeared in the BULLETIN for October, 1941.

The Hutterian Brethren, an early branch of the Swiss Brethren, for centuries kept records and preserved early letters written by their leaders, many of which still exist in manuscript form and have been discovered in recent decades. A. J. F. Zieglschmid, professor in Northwestern University, among others, has made extensive searches and studies in these old manuscripts. In The Mennonite Quarterly Review of January and April, 1941, he presented "Unpublished Sixteenth Century Letters of the Hutterian Brethren." being five letters dating from the years 1527-1535, in their original form. same author has an interesting article in The American-German Review of April, 1942, on "The Hutterian Chronicle," which he traces the history of this unique manuscript and translates from it a few interesting extracts. There are with this article over four pages of facsimiles of

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RECENT **PUBLICATIONS**

The Mennonites of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. By Edward Yoder. Published by Scottdale Mennonite Church (Reprint from The Mennonite Quarterly Review). May be ordered from Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pa. 64 pages. Price 25 cents.

An extremely necessary and fruitful type of research in Mennonite Circles is congregational history. A considerable amount of this has now been done, but more remains to be done. The task of telling the story of a congregation is made difficult usually by the fact that available records are few and inadequate. Edward Yoder encountered this difficulty in discovering the facts concerning the Mennonite settlement of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, but from old letters, from legal records, from files of the Herald of Truth, from the researches of other historians, and from the personal recollections of older people still living, he has collected the facts from which he has woven a story which is extremely interesting and it bears every mark of historical accuracy. This congregational history may well serve as a model for others who will do a similar type of research in other communities. The book covers a period of 150 years, from the first Mennonite settlement in the community about 1790 to the year 1940. The author divides the history into an early period (1790-1840), a middle period (1840-1892), and a recent period (1892-1940). Names of settlers are listed and the location of their homes and of the meetinghouses are given, and the influences which made for the growth, the decline, and the subsequent revival are described.

The story is a rather typical one. One sees the beginnings in the desire of Mennonites from down East to secure cheaper land. One sees their preoccupation with the material things that was characteristic of and perhaps necessary to pioneer life. One sees the failure of the church to hold her young people through an aggressive program of activity and spiritual teaching, but one sees also what may be done through a few faithful ones who have a vision for the future, and who work to translate that vision into reality.

But this history is much more than the story of a congregation. It is an epitome of the history of the Mennonite Church at large. One notes the phase of colonization and pioneering in which there is made evident the industry and the ability of the Mennonite people to conquer physical difficulties of the frontier and to become leaders in agriculture and industry. Then there is that phase in which the church was so committed to traditional

whole generations of her best young people had slipped out of the church never to return again. And then fortunately there is that growing phase in which the church turned to more aggressive methods of work, to leaders of better training, to a renewed emphasis on things of the spirit. and to institutional activities which could implement a revived spiritual life. The congregation at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, was one of the first to send a young minister to school for better preparation; to engage in active mission Sunday-school work, to give up a young leader to the foreign mission field; to build up in its community a church institution such as the Mennonite Publishing House which would become one of the organizational centers of the church; to definitely promote Summer Bible School work. For these and other reasons the monograph here reviewed is an inspiring one.

-Paul Erb.

Annals of the Conestoga Valley in Lancaster, Berks, and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania. . . . Compiled and published by Z. MAST and ROBERT E. SIMPSON, 1942, 689 pages, \$3.00. Order from C. Z. Mast, Elverson, Pennsylvania.

Let those who hold to the notion that, "All history is dry," pick up this book and read at random. This volume of "annals" is not a mere recital of names and dates; it is a splendid collection of local tales and stories, accurately recorded and well written. Throughout the book there is evident the warm love of the authors for their delightful Valley in eastern Penn-

Part One, by Mast, contains almost fourscore essays on such interesting topics as the aboriginal Indians, a sorghum mill, the Conestoga horse, lime kilns, a century-old diary, the "goosebone man," a fire company; notes on twenty-five families of the valley; and histories of some twenty Valley churches-Episcopal, Presbyterian, Mennonite, Amish, Methodist Episcopal, Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical, Congregational, United Brethren, and Baptist. Not to be forgotten is the chapter on the famous Conestoga wagon, one of the glories of the Valley's history.

Part Two, by Simpson, consisting of some fifty brief chapters, contains interesting brief essays on Caernarvon township education, early mansions, (musical) bands, the Welsh mountains and their ore mines, the Great Walk, fire companies, the "water smeller"; notes on some thirty families; justices of the peace, antique sales, and Revolutionary War soldiers.

One of the merits of the book is its wholesome philosophy: a keen appreciation of nature; a certain historical perspective on human events; an appreciation of the various national and religious groups who have made the Valley a veritable Canaan; and a trace of humor now ways of doing things and so given to maland then. Everyone whose ancestral roots terial interests that before it was aware reach back to the good Valley of the Conformal and Middlebury, Indiana, in 1934. It has

estoga, and all those interested in the story of the customs, piety, and daily life of the people in an eastern Pennsylvania community, ought to secure this book. The reader will find that Mast and Simpson have succeeded well in telling the story of "over two hundred years of local history of an American earthly paradise." The pictures alone are worth the price of the book.

It is to be regretted that no index was added to the volume. The reviewer was surprised to find, for example, an interesting biographical sketch of the late historian M. G. Weaver tucked away in the chapter on "The Yohn Family."-J. C. Wenger.

NEWS AND NOTES

(Continued from page 3)

some pages of the Chronicle, showing the beautiful script and artistic lettering.

Quintus Leatherman published an article, "Christopher Dock, Mennonite Schoolmaster, 1718-1771," in The Mennonite Quarterly Review of January, 1942. It is a brief, fresh presentation of the facts of Dock's life, and a study of the man as a teacher, as an illuminator of manuscripts, and as a hymn writer.

In The Mennonite Quarterly Review for April, 1942, appears an exhaustive article by George Allen of Philadelphia, on "The Rittenhouse Paper Mill and Its Founders." The leading man connected with this earliest paper mill in America, which was long carried on under his name, was the Mennonite minister, William Rittenhouse of Germantown.

In the last previous issue of the Bul-LETIN a number of recently published family histories were mentioned. Following are others that belong in the same

Descendants of Barbara Hochstedler and Christian Stutzman, by Harvey Hostetler, published in 1938 at Scottdale, Pa. This large book lists over fifteen thousand families with extensive details of information and has three comprehensive indices, all in 1391 pages.

The Brenneman History (1938), by Albert H. Gerberich. The book aims to trace in outline the descendants of the numerous Brennemans who arrived in America at different times, and also some of the European relatives. There are 1217 pages, including extensive indices.

Descendants of Gideon Detwiler and Lydia Kanagy (Detwiler), by Lizzieann J. Hostetler, Volant, Pa. (1940). A brief genealogical record of 58 pages.

Descendants of Bishop Jacob Eash (1744-1850), by Levi T. Eash, published